

BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of

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MUR 3774

RESPONSE OF MINNESOTA CITIZENS CONCERNED  
FOR LIFE, INC.

Comes now Jacqueline A. Schwietz, under oath, on behalf of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. (hereinafter MCCL) and hereby responds to the Subpoena to Produce Documents and Order to Submit Written Answers of the Federal Election Commission, as follows:

INTERROGATORIES

1. State whether Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. has conducted or is currently conducting a voter identification program. If so, briefly describe the program(s).

**Answer:** No. MCCL, however, has conducted a Citizen's Action Project wherein MCCL uses telephone lists and voter registration lists in order to identify pro-life persons in Minnesota and to encourage them to become members of MCCL.

2. State whether any officer, employee or consultant of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. communicated in 1992 with Paul Coverdell or any officer, employee, or consultant of Paul Coverdell's 1992 Senate campaign. If so, for each communication, identify all persons involved, state the date or approximate date of the communication, and describe the purpose of the communication.

**Answer:** No.

3. a. State whether any officer, employee or consultant of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. communicated in 1992 and/or 1994 with any officer, employee, or consultant of the National Republican Senatorial Committee including but not limited to, the following persons: Curt Anderson, Paul Curcio, Enoch Ebong, Liz Owens, Jeb Jensarling, William Harris, David Carney, and Phil Gramm.

b. If the answer to a is in the affirmative, for each communication, identify all persons involved, state the date or approximate date of the communication, and describe the purpose of the communication.

**Answer:** To the best of our recollection, Jackie Schwietz and Marice Rosenberg of MCCL may have talked to David Carney, when they were working for the Rod Grams 1994 Senate campaign, in

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the summer of 1994 concerning Rod Grams position on pro-life issues and answers to the MCCL candidate questionnaire.

4. State whether any officer, employee or consultant of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. communicated in 1994 with Rod Grams or any officer, employee, or consultant of Rod Grams 1994 Senate. If so, for each communication, identify all persons involved, state the date or approximate date of the communication, and describe the purpose of the communication.

**Answer:** See answer to Interrogatory 3. In addition, Jackie Schwietz and Marice Rosenberg of MCCL meet with Peter Hong, Sam (last name unknown) and Rod Grams in the summer of 1994 concerning Rod Grams position on pro-life issues and answers to the MCCL candidate questionnaire.

5. List all get-out-the vote ("GOTV") phone call projects conducted by or on behalf of MCCL, Inc. in 1992. For each program, identify the federal candidate(s) or elections named in the phone calls, identify any and all vendors involved in the project, and provide the total cost of the project.

**Answer:** None.

6. List all get-out-the vote ("GOTV") phone call projects conducted by or on behalf of MCCL, Inc. in 1994. For each program, identify the federal candidate(s) or elections named in the phone calls, identify any and all vendors involved in the program and provide the cost of the project.

**Answer:** Grams and Wynia, Optima and \$40,703.95.

7. Identify all MCCL, Inc. officers, directors, employees, consultants or volunteers with knowledge of GOTV phone call projects conducted by or on behalf of MCCL, Inc. in 1992.

**Answer:** Not applicable.

8. Identify all MCCL, Inc. officers, directors, employees, consultants or volunteers with knowledge of GOTV phone call projects conducted by or on behalf of MCCL, Inc. in 1994.

**Answer:** Jackie Schwietz, Marice Rosenberg, Tam Helmin, Mary Schmit, and David O'Steen knew some or all of the details regarding the 1994 GOTV calls of MCCL.

9. Describe the purpose of the \$50,000 contribution made to MCCL, Inc. by NRLC, Inc. dated November 4, 1994, a copy of which is attached as Attachment 1 (200060).

**Answer:** No purposes were stated by the donor.

10. Identify all MCCL, Inc. officers, directors, employees, consultants or volunteers with knowledge of Attachment 1.

**Answer:** Jackie Schwietz, Marice Rosenberg, Mary Schmit, David O'Steen and Darla St. Martin.

**PRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS**

1. Produce all documents that in any way contain, or refer or relate to, any communication or meeting in 1992 between any officer, director, employee or consultant of the Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. and any officer, director, employee or consultant of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, including but not limited to, Curt Anderson, Paul Curcio, Enoch Ebong, Jeb Hensarling and Phil Gramm.

**Response:** None.

2. Produce all documents that in any way contain, or refer or relate to, any communication or meeting in 1992 between any officer, director, employee and consultant of the Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. and Paul Coverdell or any officer, employee or consultant of the Paul Coverdell's 1992 U.S. Senate campaign.

**Response:** None.

3. Produce all documents that in any way contain, or refer or relate to, any communication or meeting in 1994 between any officer, director, employee or consultant of the Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. and any officer, director, employee or consultant of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, including but not limited to, Paul Curcio, William Harris, David Carney, Phil Gramm and Liz Owen.

**Response:** See response to Request for Documents 4.

4. Produce all documents that in any way contain, or refer or relate to, any communication or meeting in 1994 between any officer, director, employee and consultant of the Minnesota Citizens for Life, Inc. and Rod Grams and any officer, director, employee or consultant of the Rod Grams' 1994 U.S. Senate campaign.

**Response:** Exhibit A.

5. Produce all documents that in any way contain, or refer or relate to, any voter identification program conducted by or on behalf of MCCL, Inc. in 1992-1994, including but not limited to program handbooks or other documents describing the program,

survey questions used in the program, and any contracts with vendors or consultants to conduct such a program.

**Response:** not applicable.

6. Produce all documents that in any way contain, or refer or relate to, any GOTV phone projects conducted by or on behalf of MCCL, Inc., including but not limited to, scripts, lists, contracts, invoices, checks, correspondence, memos, notes, and electronic mail messages.

**Response:** Exhibit B.

7. Produce all bank statements for the bank account into which NRLC's November 4, 1994 check was deposited, and for any account(s) into which the funds from the check was transferred, for the period between October 1, 1994 through January 1, 1995.

**Response:** Object. The request is overly broad, requests confidential financial information and is unduly burdensome.

I, Jacqueline A. Schwietz, being duly sworn, make the statements contained in this response on behalf of Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc. to the best of my personal knowledge, information and belief, under penalty of perjury.

Jacqueline A. Schwietz  
Jacqueline A. Schwietz  
April 14, 1997

STATE OF MINNESOTA            )  
  :  
COUNTY OF HENNIPEN         )

Before me, a Notary Public in and for said State and County, personally appeared Jacqueline A. Schwietz, and acknowledged the execution of the foregoing instrument and made oath that the information provided therein was made to the best of his personal knowledge, information and belief, and, where based on information and belief, he believes the information to be true.

Witness my hand and notarial seal this 14<sup>th</sup> day of  
April, 1997.

Robert F. Seidel  
Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

1/31, 2000

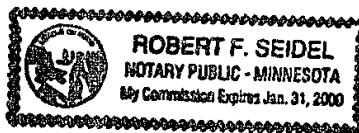


EXHIBIT A

## EXHIBIT A

## RATIONING IN NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

*To "ration" something is to deliberately "restrict" or "withhold" it. We do not have "rationing" of health care today. No one is forbidden to purchase any kind of health care or health care insurance that she or he wishes. Under Clinton's plan (and others), access to health care would be rationed.*

The Clinton health plan (S. 1757/H.R. 3600) specifies a formula that a seven-member National Health Board must use to set the average national level of insurance premiums for the "comprehensive benefits package" most Americans and their employers would be required to purchase each year. The Clinton plan would place mandatory caps on health insurance premiums at a rate below health care cost inflation so that less money, in real dollars, would be available to pay for health care each year. Health care providers would be forced to gradually cut back on the care provided which would require them to ration treatment.

(10) Will you oppose the Clinton health plan or any other proposed plan that would set mandatory premium caps?

YES X NO \_\_\_\_\_

Under the Clinton health care bill, health plans would effectively allow the denial of treatment when, in the words of the First Lady, it will not "enhance or save the quality of life." NRLC opposes discriminatory targeting of the disabled, the elderly, and the chronically ill for the withdrawing or withholding of treatment based on someone else's determination that the patient's "quality of life" is not satisfactory.

(11) Will you oppose the Clinton health plan or any other proposed plan that would allow the denial of treatment based on whether or not it will "enhance the quality of life" of the patient?

YES X NO \_\_\_\_\_

Today, some people feel that other priorities are more important than lifesaving medical care and that we should ration health care in order to cut costs. The pro-life movement has always opposed euthanasia as well as abortion and infanticide. We regard the rationing of lifesaving medical treatment as a form of involuntary euthanasia. An October 1993 Wirthlin poll found that 70% of Americans

disagree that "We should ration lifesaving medical treatment for people in poor health with a poor quality of life in order to contain health care costs."

(12) Do you oppose rationing of lifesaving medical treatment as a means of cost control?

YES X NO \_\_\_\_\_

Under the Clinton health plan, it would be illegal to purchase supplemental insurance to protect your family from rationing. You could buy supplemental insurance for categories outside the comprehensive benefits package, such as certain dental benefits, but the bill prohibits selling supplemental insurance that duplicates categories inside the package, precisely the ones that would be rationed.

(13) Will you oppose the Clinton health plan or any other proposed plan that would prohibit an individual or family from purchasing supplemental insurance to cover medical services or treatment within the basic benefits package which is denied to the individual or family member?

YES X NO \_\_\_\_\_

Under the Clinton health plan, specialists trained by medical schools would be limited to 45% of all doctors-- roughly half of the current number. The total number of doctors trained would also be decreased. This will reduce the number of those specially trained to diagnose and treat complex illnesses, leading to rationing due to the lack of availability of specialists. It will also devastate medical research, which is largely conducted by specialists.

(14) Will you oppose the Clinton health plan or any other proposed plan that forces a reduction in the number of doctors and trained specialists?

YES X NO \_\_\_\_\_



# National RIGHT TO LIFE committee, inc.

Suite 500, 419 7th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20004-2293 — (202) 628-8800 (FAX) 737-9189 or 347-5907

## 1994 CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATE QUESTIONNAIRE

(1) The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) believes that unborn children should be protected by law, and that abortion should be permitted only when it is the only way to prevent the death of the mother. Under what circumstances, if any, do you believe that abortion should be legal?

☐ In no case.

☐ Only to prevent the death of the mother (the NRLC position).

☒ To prevent the death of the mother, and in cases of incest, and in cases of forcible rape reported to law enforcement authorities.

Other (please explain): \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE NOTE: On every question below, a "yes" response indicates agreement with the position of the National Right to Life Committee.

### ROE V. WADE

In its 1973 rulings in Roe v. Wade and Doe v. Bolton, the U.S. Supreme Court created a constitutional "right to abortion" that invalidated the abortion laws of all 50 states. Following these decisions, from 1973 until 1989 the federal courts permitted virtually no restrictions on abortion, even after "viability."

(2) Do you support the complete reversal of the Roe v. Wade and Doe v. Bolton decisions, thereby allowing the state legislatures and the Congress to once again protect unborn children to the degree they deem appropriate?

YES ☒ NO ☐

In its 1992 decision in Casey v. Planned Parenthood, the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed the "core holdings" of Roe v. Wade, but modified Roe somewhat to permit states to adopt abortion regulations that do not place any "substantial obstacle" in the path of a woman seeking an abortion. Under this so-called "undue burden test," the Court upheld Pennsylvania regulations requiring (with various exceptions) that a woman or girl seeking an abortion be offered state-prepared information about fetal development and alternatives to abortion, that she wait 24 hours prior to the abortion, and if she is a minor, that she receive parental or judicial consent prior to an abortion.

(3) Do you support allowing states to enact and enforce Pennsylvania-type regulations, such as mandatory right-to-know laws, mandatory waiting periods, and parental consent requirements?

YES ☒ NO ☐

The so-called "Freedom of Choice Act" (FOCA) (H.R. 25, S. 25) would invalidate virtually all state limitations on abortion, including the Pennsylvania-type regulations that the Supreme Court upheld in its 1992 Casey decision (see question #2). As the respected Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report reported in its December 11, 1993 edition, "Among the most controversial provisions [of the FOCA] are those that would prohibit restrictions on third-trimester abortions, overturn several states' requirements that teenagers obtain the consent of one or both parents before having an abortion and prohibit 24-hour waiting periods."

(4) Will you vote against the "Freedom of Choice Act"-- and any similar proposals that would limit state authority to place such restrictions on abortion as are permitted by the Supreme Court?

YES ☒ NO ☐



## **ROD GRAMS**

I am deeply troubled by the sheer number of abortions. There are now over 4300 abortions every day in this country. I am against this use of abortion as a method of birth control. My position is a mainstream position consistent with most of Minnesotans.

I believe abortion should be allowed only to protect the mother or in cases of rape and incest and I do oppose the use of abortion a method of birth control. I'm against tax funding of abortions and I support Minnesota's funding law and the Hyde Amendment which allows abortion funding to protect the life of the mother or in cases of rape or incest. I strongly support parental notification before an abortion is performed on a minor daughter.

## **ANN WYNIA**

The problem with Ann Wynia is that she's just too extreme on abortion. Her position is to allow abortion for any reason even as a method of birth control, even in the 4th, 5th, or 6th months of pregnancy and she wants to use your tax dollars to pay for it. In fact she has voted in the Mn. legislature in favor of tax funding of abortion. Her position is so extreme that she even voted against Minnesota's parental notification law. In other words, she thinks that minor girls should be given abortions without their parents even being notified.

## QUESTIONS FOR ANN WYNIA

**Would you be willing to make abortion *illegal* after the *first three months*.**

Answer: There are more than 150,000 abortions performed every year

in the 4th, 5th, 6th month of pregnancy or later

**What limits on abortion would you be willing to support?**

# Pro-Life: A Political Advantage

While it is no secret that the media never get the story straight on abortion, never was that more true than in the utterly misleading way pundits interpreted the effect the abortion issue had on the 1992 presidential contest between incumbent George Bush and challenger Bill Clinton. Without a shred of empirical evidence, both the press and pro-abortionists within the Republican party announced that opposition to abortion was an electoral albatross for the GOP.

In truth, the very opposite was the case. Not a single poll showed President Bush's pro-life stand hurting him. All, including the media's own Voter Research Survey (VRS), demonstrated that abortion hurt Governor Clinton and helped President Bush. Some facts:

- Surveys showed that the pro-life Mr. Bush received the majority of the votes of those who said abortion was one of two issues which mattered most in determining their vote. In fact, among those who voted on the basis of abortion, Mr. Bush enjoyed a net advantage (increment) of between 2.5% and 6.9% over the pro-abortion Mr. Clinton. The difference

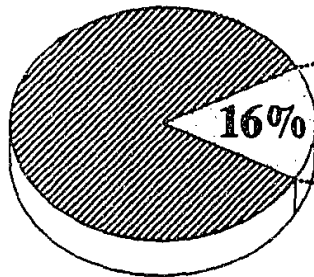
between the two figures is explained by the fact that some surveys included both "abortion" and "family values" when asking respondents to select the one or two issues most important in determining which presidential candidate received their vote. Apparently, many people voting pro-life chose the broader "family values" category, assuming that "family values" included the issue of "abortion." When "family values" was not a choice, Mr. Bush's "abortion" vote rose almost four points.

- Mr. Clinton was helped enormously, however, by the overwhelming majority he commanded among the 42% of the electorate who ranked the economy and jobs as one of the two issues which mattered most in deciding their votes. The challenger Mr. Clinton enjoyed a staggeringly high net advantage (or increment) of 12.1%. This alone more than explains why he defeated President Bush.
- A side issue radically misrepresented was the net advantage Mr. Clinton held over Mr. Bush

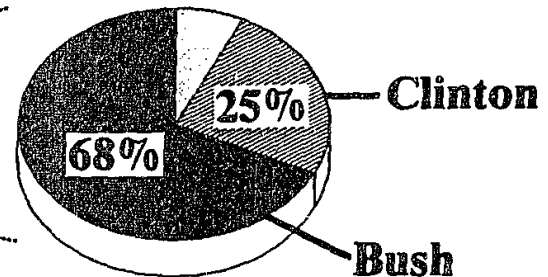
## The Abortion Issue and the Presidential Vote\*

**Q:** Which one or two issues mattered most in deciding your vote?

**A:** 16% said abortion.



George Bush won the overwhelming majority of that 16%.



In other words, nearly 7 in 10 voters to whom abortion was one of the issues which mattered most in determining their vote supported Mr. Bush because of his pro-life stand.

This means that 10.9% of all voters voted for Mr. Bush because of his opposition to abortion while only 4% of all voters voted for Mr. Clinton because of his support for abortion -- giving Mr. Bush a net pro-life advantage of 6.9% on the abortion issue. This is the margin of victory or defeat in many elections.

*\*From a November 13, 1992 Wirthlin Poll*

among women voters. The media falsely assumed that women rejected Mr. Bush because of his opposition to abortion. But, in fact, the two candidates split the vote among white female voters. The entire advantage Mr. Clinton gained among female voters was restricted to non-white females. This is a reflection not of Mr. Bush's pro-life position but of the well-known disadvantage the GOP has experienced with this demographic group.

The 1992 elections held many more examples of the obvious advantage to Republican candidates who maintained their pro-life stance. New York Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, for example, had endorsements from the New York Republican, Conservative, and Right to Life parties. He defeated his pro-abortion opponent, Democrat Bob Abrams, by 80,794 votes. Sen. D'Amato received nearly 225,000 votes on the Right to Life line. If the senator had followed the advice of pro-abortion Republicans and flip-flopped, the Right to Life party would simply have endorsed another candidate - - and Mr. Abrams, not Sen. D'Amato, would have won.

It is crucial to remember as well that in 1992 76% of the U.S. House seats won by Republicans were won by pro-life Republicans. Moreover, each of the four Republicans who won seats in the U.S. Senate for the first time on November 3, 1992 held a pro-life position.

Nevertheless, such pro-abortion groups as the Republican Majority Coalition and some Washington, D.C. inside-the-beltway political consultants, who pay too much attention to the pro-abortion media hype and too little to hard data, would have the GOP drop this fundamental, defining issue and, thus, abandon both the majority of the party's faithful constituency and the majority of the congressional candidates that it did elect. The idea is ludicrous on its face. Unfortunately, it is being seriously suggested.

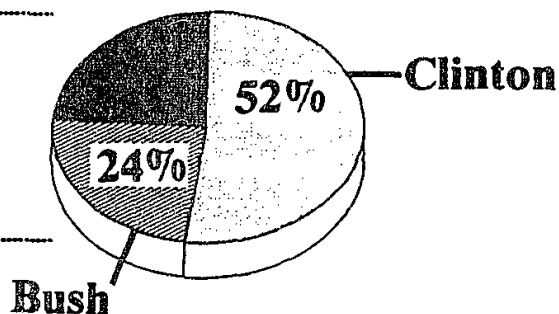
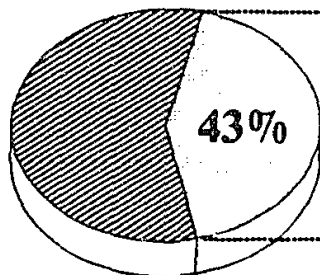
However, because these myths and distortions have been circulating widely, pro-life Republicans must (1) work to ensure that officials throughout the party structure know the real facts and statistics showing the electoral advantage to Republicans who take a pro-life position and (2) continue to organize, organize, and organize within the party.

## The Economy and the Presidential Vote\*

**Q:** Which one or two issues mattered most in deciding your vote?

**A:** 43% said the economy and/or jobs.

Bill Clinton won the overwhelming majority of that 43%.



In other words, Bill Clinton won by a 2-to-1 margin among those voters to whom the economy and/or jobs mattered most in determining their vote.

This gave Mr. Clinton a net advantage of 12.1% on the issue of the economy.

\*From a November 3, 1992 Voter Research Survey (VRS) Poll

# The Pro-Life Majorities

Public opinion polls have been a part of the abortion debate from the beginning, but not until 1989 did the media begin reporting a crucial fact about the public's attitude on abortion: the overwhelming majority of Americans oppose all but a tiny percentage of the 1.6 million abortions performed annually. Take your pick: abortions as a means of birth control, abortions for social or economic reasons, abortions without the father's knowledge, abortions on minors without their parents' involvement, abortions without the woman's informed consent, abortions paid by the government -- the majority of the public opposes all of these, some by 3 to 1 margins. Furthermore, the majority also does not want abortion coverage to be included in any national health insurance plan.

The following are excerpts from several national polls which show that Americans strongly support pro-life legislation restricting abortion.

**66%** say abortion for women who want it should not "be covered as part of a basic health plan." [Under the Clinton health care reform proposals.]  
(25% say abortions should be paid directly by the woman who wants it)  
CBS/New York Times, June 1993

**69%** do not agree that the "federal government should pay for abortions for any woman who wants it and cannot afford to pay."  
(27% agree)  
ABC News/Washington Post, July 1992

**80%** oppose abortion used as a form of birth control.  
(13% in favor)  
Los Angeles Times, March 19, 1989

**73%** favor requiring that minors obtain the consent of one parent before having an abortion.  
(23% oppose)  
Times Mirror, May 8, 1992

**86%** mostly favor legislation "requiring women to receive information about fetal development and alternatives to abortion before going ahead with the procedure."  
(9% mostly oppose)  
Gallup, February 28, 1991

**81%** favor requiring doctors to counsel on alternatives to abortion.  
(16% oppose)  
USA Today/CNN, Gallup, June 30, 1992  
[Ed. note: Despite poll results such as these, because fewer doctors are willing to do or even be trained to do abortions, the abortion industry is moving toward having doctors even less involved in a woman's abortion decision than they are now. In early 1994, the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists endorsed training non-physicians to perform abortions.]

**63%** oppose federal funding of research using tissue from aborted human fetuses.  
Wirthlin, January 22, 1992

57%

believe abortion should not be allowed "if the woman is unmarried and does not want to marry the father."  
(36% would allow abortion)

*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, October 8, 1989

85%

believe abortion should be illegal "if the woman could not afford to care for the baby."

*Washington Post*, October 7, 1989

62%

would support a legal right for a father to prevent the abortion of his unborn child.

*Clements Research/Parade Magazine*, May 1992

76%

favor requiring a woman to notify her husband before she has an abortion.

*Clements Research/Parade Magazine*, May 1992

92%

believe abortion should be illegal "if a family decides they don't want another child."

*Washington Post*, October 7, 1989

82%

were not aware that *Roe v. Wade* made abortion legal throughout the full nine months of pregnancy.

*Gallup*, February 28, 1991

55%

believe abortion should be prohibited in all circumstances (13%), legal only to save the mother's life (12%), or legal only in cases of rape, incest, or to save the mother's life (30%).

(24% believe abortion should be legal for any reason, but not after the first three months of pregnancy; 5% believe it should be legal, but not after the first six months; and only 12% believe abortion should be legal at any time during pregnancy for any reason, which is, however, the circumstances allowed by the United States Supreme Court.)

*Wirthlin*, November 5-7, 1992

57%

think that the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision "that abortions should be allowed for any reason" should be changed.

*Wirthlin*, January 22, 1992

58%

underestimated by more than 500,000 the number of abortions performed annually in the United States.

*U.S. Catholic Conference Release*, November 5, 1990

[Ed. note: Approximately 1.6 million abortions are done every year; a total of 31.5 million abortions between 1973 and 1993.]

## ABORTION AND HEALTH CARE-- A LOOK AT THE POLLS

Polls by diverse national pollsters show strong public opposition-- among both men and women-- to including abortion in any federal health "benefits package," and strong opposition to other forms of tax-funded abortion as well.

The CBS News / New York Times poll twice asked specifically (in March and June, 1993), "Should abortion for women who want it be covered as part of a basic health plan or should it be paid for directly by the women who want it?" The results were:

	MARCH 1993			JUNE 1993		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Should be covered:	23%	24%	22%	25%	26%	25%
Should NOT be:	72%	72%	72%	66%	66%	65%

In October, 1993, Louis Harris-- generally known as a pollster for liberal activists-- asked, "Do you think that the basic health insurance benefits guaranteed to all Americans should include coverage for abortion or should people have to pay extra to have abortion coverage by their insurance?"

Should be included: 27 percent  
Should have to pay extra: 62 percent

A Washington Post poll (February, 1994) posed this question: "Now I'm going to mention things that might concern some people but not others about the Clinton health care plan. And for each, please tell me if it's a big concern, a small concern, or not at all a concern of yours... The plan will pay for legal abortions:"

Big concern: 47 percent )  
Small concern: 21 percent ) 68 percent "concerned"  
Not at all concern: 33 percent

The NBC poll (September, 1993) asked, "Should national health care program include coverage for abortions?" The result:

Should not cover 52 percent  
Should cover 32 percent

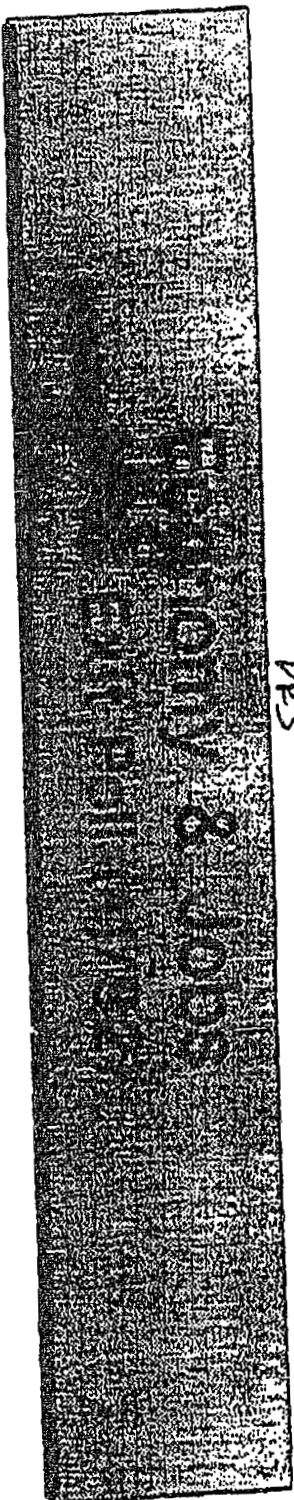
These results are generally consistent with polls on the general issue of tax-funded abortions. For example, an ABC News / Washington Post poll (July, 1992) posed this statement: "The federal government should pay for an abortion for any woman who wants it and cannot afford to pay."

Agree: 27 percent  
Disagree: 69 percent

Under the Clinton proposal, abortion is lumped in with "family planning services and services for pregnant women," and every health plan would be required to provide abortion on precisely the same basis as contraceptives. Yet, most Americans-- including many who regard themselves as "pro-choice"-- reject the notion that abortion should be treated as just another method of birth control. For example, a November 1992 Wirthlin poll asked, "Do you favor or oppose abortion being *allowed* as a method of birth control?" [emphasis added]

	Total Sample	Men	Women
Favor:	13 percent	17%	9%
Oppose:	84 percent	79%	89%

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- Which 1 or 2 Issues Mattered Most in Deciding Your Vote?

Economy & Jobs = 43%

Bush 10.3% (24%)

Clinton 22.4% (52%)

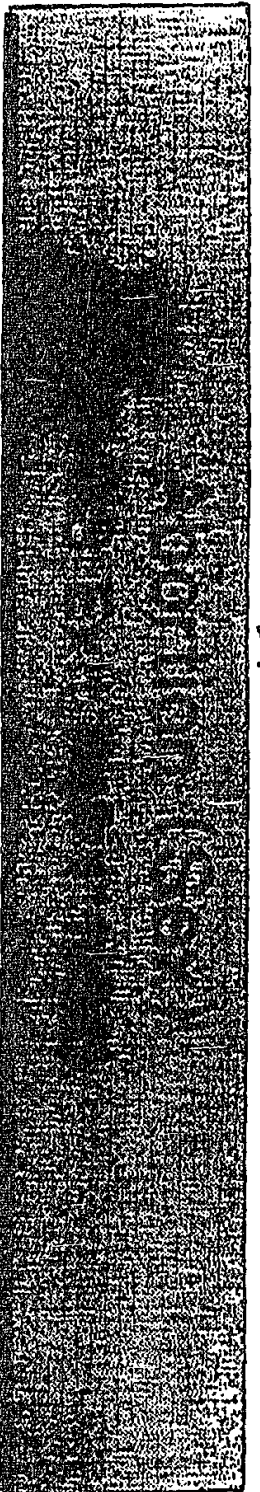
Net Increment for Clinton = 12.1%

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• Which 1 or 2 Issues Mattered Most in  
Deciding Your Vote?

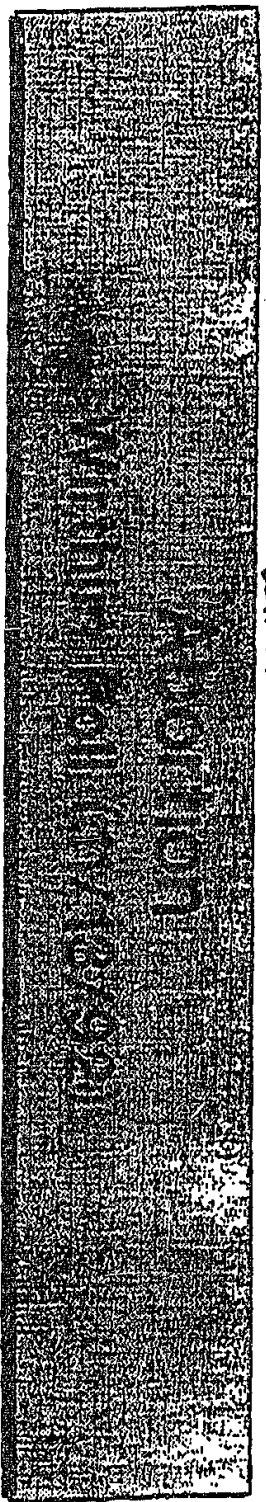
Of Those Who Selected Abortion...

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>
Male (32%)	65%	26%
Female (68%)	50%	42%

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• Which 1 or 2 Issues Mattered Most in  
Deciding Your Vote?

Abortion = 16%

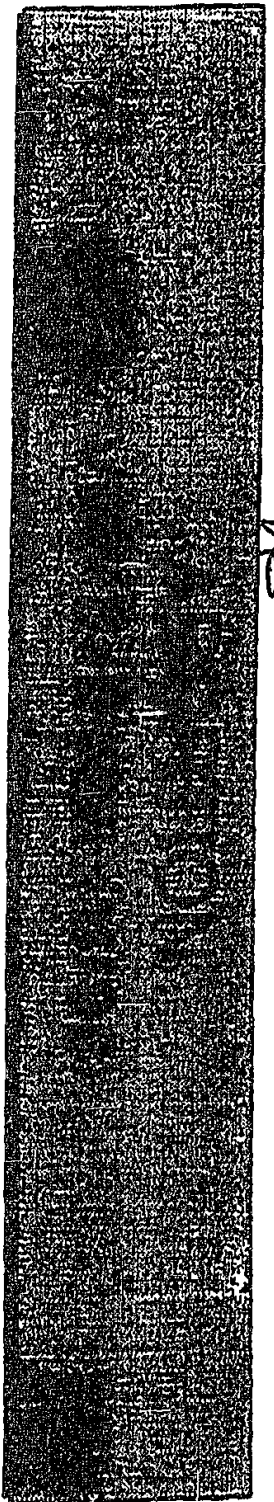
Bush	10.9%	(68%)
Clinton	4.0%	(25%)

Net Increment for Bush = 6.9%

C O N F I D E N T I A L

PE4C NR1C 12/92

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• Which 1 or 2 Issues Mattered Most in  
Deciding Your Vote?

ABORTION = 13%

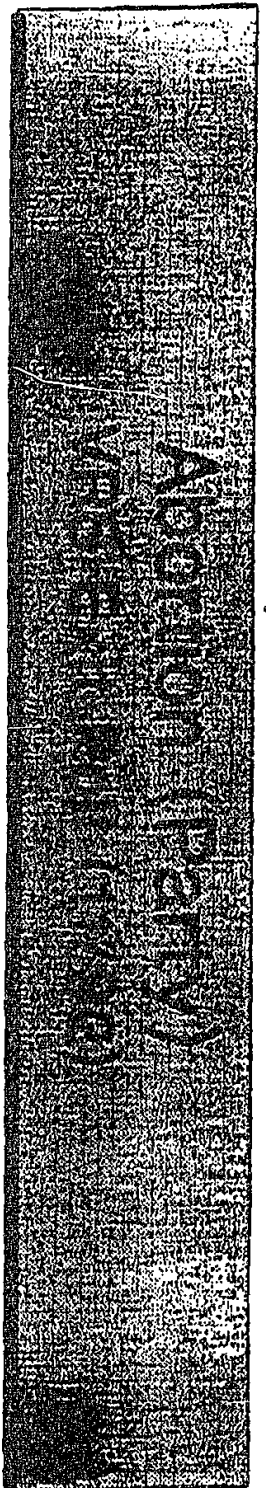
Bush	7.2%	(55%)
Clinton	4.7%	(36%)

Net Increment for Bush = 2.5%

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• Which 1 or 2 Issues Mattered Most in  
Deciding Your Vote?

Of Those Who Selected Abortion...

Party Bush Clinton

Democrat (29%)	24%	67%
Republican (43%)	82%	11%
Independent (28%)	44%	44%

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PRO- LIFE ADS/INTEL (2)

- Do you recall seeing advertising or receiving information sponsored by a pro-life group, i.e. a group against abortion?

11/6/92      11/13/92

Yes, do recall		
NRLC PAC	18%	20%

Yes, do not recall NRLC PAC	14%	14%
-----------------------------	-----	-----

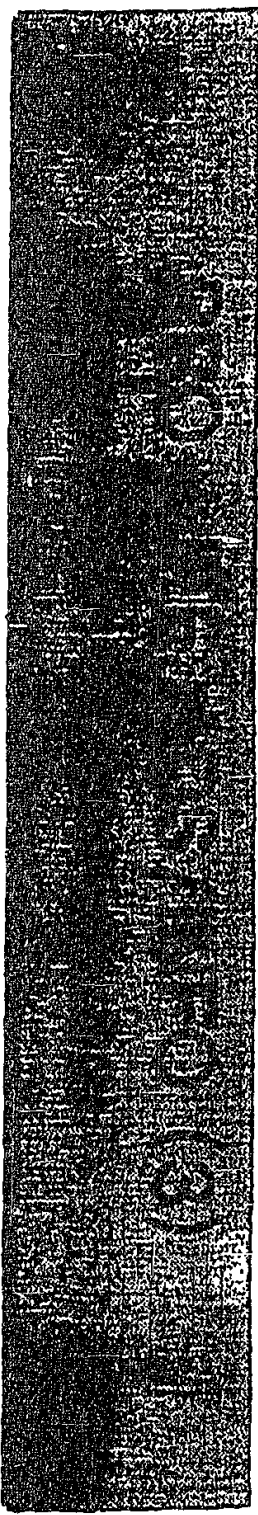
Yes, don't Remember	9%	9%
---------------------	----	----

CONFIDENTIAL

PE24C NRLC 12/92

2025 RELEASE UNDER E.O. 14176

W



• Do you recall seeing advertising or receiving information sponsored by a pro-life group, i.e. a group against abortion?

Bush                      Clinton

Yes, do recall		
NRLC PAC	48%	39%

CONFIDENTIAL

PE256C NRLC 12/92

W

PRO ABORTION ADS INFO (2)

- Do you recall seeing advertising or receiving information sponsored by a pro-choice, i.e. a group for abortion?

11/6/92      11/13/92

Yes, do recall NARAL	9%	9%
-------------------------	----	----

Yes, do not recall NARAL	13%	13%
-----------------------------	-----	-----

Yes, don't remember	7%	7%
------------------------	----	----

CONFIDENTIAL

PE27C NRLO 12/92

PRO-ABORTION ADS/INF-D (3)

Call 1-800-434-9221

- Do you recall seeing advertising or receiving information sponsored by a pro-choice, i.e. a group for abortion?

Bush Clinton

Yes, do recall  
NARAL 40% 42%

CONFIDENTIAL

PE28C NRLC 12/92



12

NRLC PAC ADS/ TELEPHONE (U)

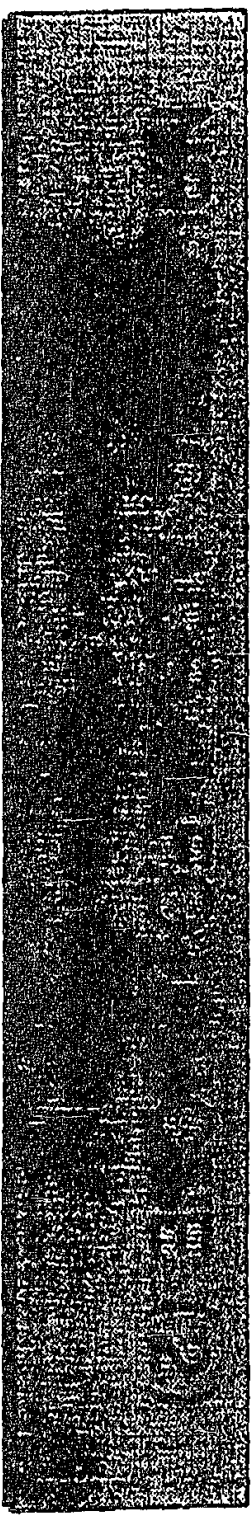
- Do you recall receiving a telephone call, information in the mail or hand distributed literature from NRLC PAC?

	11/6/92	11/13/92
Yes	11%	13%

CONFIDENTIAL

PE29C NRLC 12/92

W

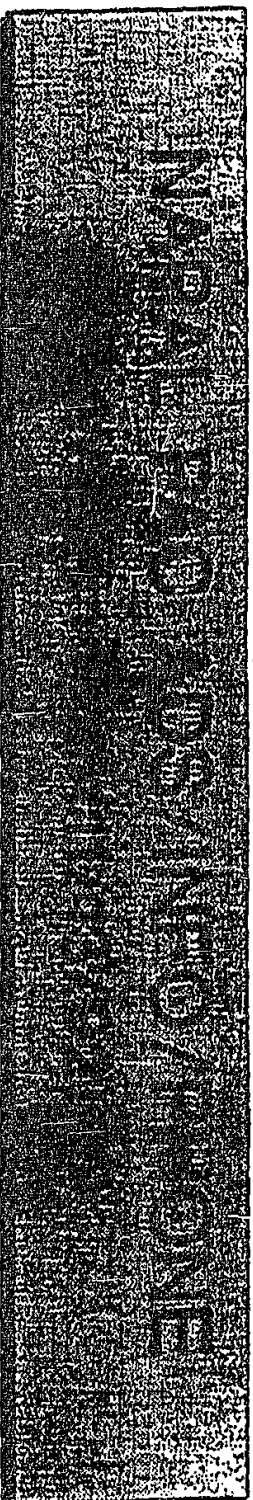


- Do you recall receiving a telephone call, information in the mail or hand distributed literature from NRLC PAC?

	Bush	Clinton
Yes (13%)	58%	24%
Yes, mail	71%	17%

**CONFIDENTIAL**

PE30C NRLC 12/92



12

- Do you recall receiving a telephone call, information in the mail or hand distributed literature from NARAL?

11/6/92

11/13/92

Yes

6%

7%

CONFIDENTIAL

PE31C NR1C 12/92

# New York - Alfonse D'Amato (R)

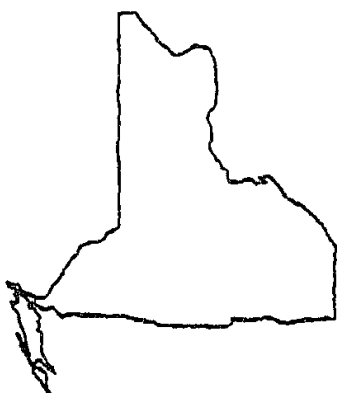
U.S. Senate (11/92)

## Alfonse D'Amato

Republican	2,652,822	42.4%
Conservative	289,258	4.6%
Right to Life	224,914	3.6%
Total	3,166,994	50.6%

## Robert Abrams

Democratic	2,942,001	47.0%
Liberal	143,199	2.3%
Total	3,086,200	49.4%



- D'Amato's Winning Margin 80,794 1.3%
- RTL Party (Does not include pro-life vote on other lines) 224,914 3.6%

# Party Members Position on Abortion

## Within - June 1994

Which best describes how you feel on the question?

PARTY	PRO-LIFE	PRO-CHOICE
Republican	56%	43%
Democratic	49%	48%

(no abortion  
life of mother only  
Life, Rape, Trust)

(any reason - not after 3 months  
" " " " " "  
" " any time)

100-456789-100

## EXHIBIT B

US Senate / US House / Leg  
Optim. Scripts

12 pg

1994

11/8/94

To: Matt Sottong - Optima  
From: Jackie Schwietz - MCCL  
Re: GOTV: Candidates & Scripts

Candidates: Rod Grams - running for US. Senate  
Gil Gutknecht - running for US House from 1st congressional district  
Other candidates running for the MN House from various legislative districts  
1 candidate (Sheevel) running for MN Senate

Scripts:	<u>Cong Dist</u>	<u>Leg Dist</u>
✓ 1. Grams		
✓ 2. Grams, Gutknecht	CD 1	
✓ 3. Grams, Gutknecht, Tuma	CD 1	LD 25A
✓ 4. Grams, Gutknecht, Osskopp	CD 1	LD 29B
✓ 5. Grams, Gutknecht, Scheevel	CD 1	LD 31A & 31B
✓ 6. Grams, Gutknecht, Kraus	CD 1	LD 27A
✓ 7. Grams, Smith		LD 34A
✓ 8. Grams, Broecker		LD 53B
✓ 9. Grams, Kramer		LD 47B
✓ 10. Grams, Murphy		LD 8A
✓ 11. Grams, Klinzing		LD 19B

Matt - Please call me  
ASAP

612-825-2346

2025 "SEE" 100000

MEMORANDUM

TO: JACKIE SCHWEITZ  
FM: MATT SOTTONG  
RE: RESPONSE DATA FOR GOTV EFFORTS  
DATE: NOVEMBER 17, 1994

---

The purpose of this memo is to supply you with the response codes for the calling done over election weekend.

Attached you will find the sheets which indicates how many calls were placed in each legislative district. Since this has been taken directly off of our system, I have also attached a legend which will enable you to accurately analyze the numbers.

You will no doubt notice that the total for this calling come to 122,466 contacts, and that I have invoiced you for a total of 125,786. The difference is 3,320 contacts. The reason for this discrepancy is that there was some cross over between people contacted from the Congressional District 1 project and the state-wide (Grams) calling. In some cases, 3,320 to be exact, voters received a call on behalf of the Congressional Candidate and the legislative candidate, and the Senate candidate. Therefore, the count appears smaller than it actually is.

I hope this information is satisfactory. If you need further information (i.e. actual response data on diskette), I can work to get that done for you. Please contact me if you want me to pursue this.

Finally, I got a message from Mary Ann that you would like your original diskettes back. I will be happy to Federal Express them to you tonight.

Jackie, thank you very much for choosing Optima Direct again this year. We greatly appreciate your business and certainly hope you are satisfied with our work. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.



U.S. SENATE - Grams

Hello. May I speak to \_\_\_\_\_?

I'm calling to remind you to vote on Tuesday in the U.S. Senate election.

There are now 4,300 abortions a day, and each abortion takes the life of a living human child.

**ANN WYNIA** supports abortion on demand, and **ANN WYNIA** supports using your tax dollars to pay for abortion.

**ROD GRAMS** is against abortion on demand, and **ROD GRAMS** opposes using your tax dollars to pay for abortion.

Your vote is important. Please vote on Tuesday. Thank you.

EF

# Optima

DIRECT, INC

Mr. Jackie Schwartz  
 Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life  
 4249 Nicollet Avenue  
 Minneapolis, Minnesota 55409

Invoice 6218  
 November 15, 1994

GDTV (11/5 - 11/8/94)

125,786	Contacts	@	\$0.480 /each	\$ 60,377.28
10.00	Data Processing Hours	@	\$90.00 /hour	\$ 900.00
	Delivery			\$0.00
<b>Amount Due</b>				<b>\$ 61,277.28</b>
<b>Amount of Deposit (Inv. #6154)</b>				<b>\$ 50,000.00</b>
<b>Total Amount Due</b>				<b><u>\$ 11,277.28</u></b>

Payment in full is due within 7 days of invoice date. A finance charge of 1.5% per month may be added to overdue balances beginning 8 days from invoice date. Discrepancies should be brought to the attention of Kevin Potter immediately.

**REMIT TO:**

Optima Direct, Inc.  
 Attn: Mr. Kevin Potter  
 1000 Vermont Avenue  
 Seventh Floor  
 Washington, DC 20005

C 5 PLC 2236  
 \$ 4,358.11  
 C PLC # 2223 - GRAMS 3,459.50  
 \$ 6,919.17

NOV 17 1994 10:00 AM

**RESPONSE DATA LEGEND**

NL200 = CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 1 PROJECT

11 = FULL PRESENTATION

40 = REFUSALS/EARLY HANG-UPS

NL201 = STATE-WIDE/SENATE CANDIDATE PROJECT

11 = FULL PRESENTATION

12 = ANSWERING MACHINE PRESENTATION

40 = REFUSALS/EARLY HANG-UPS

43 = DON'T CALL/PLEASE REMOVE NAME FROM LIST

50 = BAD NUMBERS

60 = UNUSED RECORDS

153,405